



Krumauer Madonna, Südböhmen ca. 1390/1400, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien

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»O Pragensis achademia!«

Ms. Prague, Metropolitan Chapter 832 and its relevance
in the efforts of church unification between
Hungary, Paris, and Prague in 1518

by FARKAS GÁBOR KISS

The Hussite period is probably one of the most thoroughly researched ages of Czech history, and it occupies a crucial place in Czech historical consciousness. It has been called *une anomalie historique* by František Šmahel,¹ and in many aspects it remains an unique phenomenon ahead of its time on the wider European plane that resists interpretation according to traditional categories of social and intellectual history. Moreover, it is still an important element of Czech national identity, which significantly defines the directions as to what problems contemporary historical research raises about its history.

The prominent status of contemporary research on Hussitism in Bohemia is in sharp contrast to the lack of it in Hungary. After the Marxist turn of historiography in the Eastern Bloc around 1948–1950, a number of articles have been published by young or already renowned Hungarian historians about the Hussite movement in Hungary in the 15th century. These authors discovered Hussite influence and its intellectual force behind virtually all peasant movements (1437 in Transylvania, 1514 on the Great Plain and in Transylvania), including revolts, internal wars, and literary expressions of social discontent in the 15th and early 16th century.² Subsequently, all these interpretations were tacitly corrected or clamorously debated, and finally superseded by research that related these movements to other intellectual sources, such as the social thought of Observant Franciscans in the case of the 1514 peasant revolt for instance.³ At the same time, research on Hussitism became stigmatized and perhaps even a taboo: only very few studies have been written on the presence of Hussites in the Kingdom of Hungary, except for one field: the Hungarian translation of the so-called Hussite Bible. Significantly, efforts have been made to disprove the Hussite origins of the translation even in this case and to

1 ŠMAHEL 1985. I would like to thank James K. Farge, Olivier Pédeflous and Thomas Prügl for their advice, and Lucie Dolezalova for acquiring the microfilm of the ms. E71 of the Metropolitan Library of Prague.

2 See esp. KARDOS 1953a, 1953b, and SZÉKELY 1954.

3 Szűcs 1972 and 1974.

attribute it to Franciscans, relying partly on the arguments of pre-war monastic church historians.⁴

The later history of Hussites in Hungary has been studied even less. The datings of the surviving parts of the Hungarian Hussite Bible show that there existed a living tradition of Hussitism, most probably both in- and outside the border of the Kingdom: the »Munich manuscript« (Müncheni-kódex, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. Hung. 1), containing the four Gospels in Hungarian, was copied in 1466 in Tatros in Moldavia (now Târgu-Trotuș, Romania).⁵ The »Vienna codex« (Bécsi kódex, Hungarian National Library, MNY 72), copied around 1450, contains the Hungarian translation of some books of the Old Testament (Ruth, Judith, Esther, Daniel, the Minor Prophets, etc.), and seems to have formed part of the same larger translation, now lost. The Apor manuscript (Sepsiszentgyörgy/Sfântu Gheorghe, Székely Nemzeti Múzeum, ms. A. 1330) is a miscellany containing a Hussite translation of the Psalter in a late 15th century transcription, which seemingly belonged to a Premonstratensian monastery, perhaps in Buda, later.⁶ The significant amount of surviving manuscripts and historical notices from after 1450 means not only that groups of Hungarian Hussites outlived the high tide and violent period of Hussitism, but also that the Hussite heresy must have maintained an important presence in Catholic consciousness at the time, both in terms of politics and theology. It is quite possible that far more efforts have been made to convert the Hussites than we actually know of. My paper intends in no way to remedy this situation. Instead, I am going to present a previously unattended source, which – when examined within its historical context – may shed new light on the local and the wider European perception of Hussitism immediately before the Protestant Reformation.

The ms. 832 (E71) of the Metropolitan Library of Prague is an early 16th century manuscript, containing a collection of thirty-eight sermons, preached and written down in the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris in the second decade of the 16th century. (For a table of contents, see Appendix 1). The first fourteen of these texts were delivered as graduation sermons during the promotion ceremonies to the magistrum in theology.⁷ Thanks to the prosopography of *Paris doctors of theology between 1500 and 1536*, compiled by James K. Farge, we are able to date these texts exactly.⁸ The earliest doctoral

4 SzABÓ 1966 and 1989, HADROVICS 1994 and GALAMB 2009. The only exception might be the important research of György Galamb on the anti-heretic purges of Giacomo della Marca around 1438–39: GALAMB 2002.

5 *Der Münchener Kodex*, 2 vol.

6 Apor-kódex (Codices Hungarici 2), Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, Kolozsvár [valójában a Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem Magyarságtudományi Intézete, Bp.], 1942.

7 A similar collection of contemporary graduation addresses is contained in BnF Lat. 7812, delivered by Louis Lassere of the Collège de Navarre, who was a paranymphus (the speaker appointed by the chancellor of the University of Paris) in 1512. See FARGE 1985, 25.

8 FARGE 1980.

graduation speech contained in the Prague manuscript is the one for Jérôme de Hangest, later a well-known author of several theological works and anti-Lutheran pamphlets, who, according to the acts of the university, graduated as a doctor on March 22, 1514.⁹ The latest sermon was preached for Claude de Nicey, on April 13, 1515. The graduation speeches are followed by several festive and synodal sermons, some of which are localized and dated: the earliest is a sermon delivered in the cathedral of Notre-Dame at Paris on Oct 19, 1510, in the presence of the archdeacon of Brie.¹⁰ The latest sermon can be dated to June 20, 1520, and was presented in the Collège de Navarre. Beside the Collège de Navarre, an important scene of Paris humanism,¹¹ other locations mentioned in the sermons include the convent of the Franciscans (*Couvent des Cordeliers*) and the house of the archdeacon of Brie.

The style of these sermons is far from being traditional; they reflect a new, humanistic approach to preaching. Surprisingly, in the graduation sermons of the newly fresh graduates at the Faculty of Theology, the humanistic conventions of public oratory prevail over the traditional structure of preaching. The medieval tradition of »thematic« sermons, based on well-structured scholastic divisions and distinctions and focusing on doctrines of moral and speculative theology, was still popular in Paris in the second decade of the 16th century, as one can see for instance in the sermon collections of Bonifacius de Ceva, a Franciscan preacher, and later provincial of the order.¹² Thus, the humanistic style of the sermons in our collection marked a clear departure from the medieval thematic structure. Although most of these sermons addressed traditional themes, such as the authority of the church,¹³ or priestly holiness,¹⁴ which were central subjects also in medieval preaching, they nevertheless did it in a new, rhetorically adorned fashion, using the tools of epideictic oratory. At the same time, they intensively relied on Greco-Roman examples and stories from pagan mythology or classical history in general, applying them univocally to notions of Christian theology and morals. The ideas of Plato (who is called »that first Achilles of philosophy«) and Zoroaster appear as vanguards of Catholic truth, and the historical examples of Pericles and Alexander the Great serve to strengthen the vocation of theologians.

The epideictic character of these sermons can be paralleled to the developments of ecclesiastic oratory in Renaissance Italy. Beginning in the 1450s, as John W. O'Malley has demonstrated,¹⁵ sermons followed increasingly the rules of Classical epideictic oratory (*laudatio* and *vituperatio*, i.e. praise and blame of the subject), leaving behind the medieval principle of teaching the believ-

9 See CRANE 2012.

10 The archdeacon of Brie was a dignitary of the chapter of the Notre Dame in Paris. See WRIGHT 1989, 99.

11 Cf. RENAUDET ²1953, 591–688, OUY 1975 and BEDOUELLE 2008.

12 Eg. CEVA *Excursionibus viaticae*, or CEVA *Sermones quadragesimales*.

13 Cf. MASSAUT 1974, 81–96.

14 About the latter, see MASSAUT 1971.

15 O'MALLEY 1974 and O'MALLEY 1979, 36–76.

ers the basic moral and doctrinal tenets of the church. A short sermon on the Assumption of Mary in the Prague sermon collection is nothing else but a collection of classical *exempla* about orators who remained tongue-tied during a public speech, implying that the speaker is unable to speak about this feast because of the greatness of the subject.¹⁶ This tendency is particularly visible in the festive and synodal sermons of the manuscript, which were delivered in specific liturgical and academic spaces, in the chapel of the Collège de Navarre, in the convent of Franciscans, or in the cathedral of Notre Dame.

At the same time, the authors of these Parisian sermons seem to have been heavily influenced by the Erasmian wit of the *Adages* and the *Praise of Folly*, which they used as textual sources for their examples. In poignant difference to the spirit of the epideictic church oratory in 15th century Italy, many of these sermons (especially those preached at doctoral graduations) took on a deliberately ludicrous tone, and cleverly used *double-entendre* and irony to characterise the celebrated person or ecclesiastic feast. According to one of the sermons, Théodore du Bouquet, a Franciscan friar, arrived at a level of perfection that he almost revived the historical St. Francis of Assisi; an opinion which the sermon commemorated by calling him *mortui pene Francisci Esculapius*, »almost an Asclepius of the dead St. Francis,« i.e. a resurrection of his sanctity.¹⁷ To quote another example, at the graduation of Luis Coronel, a future prelate, the orator recalled a story about Zoroaster. Supposedly, the Chaldean sage held the theory that souls have wings and they descend to bodies only when they lose these wings because of a filthy contagion. Souls regain their desire for their own kind when they reacquire their wings. When Zoroaster was asked how a soul could regain its wings he answered: »water them with the water of life« (*irrigate eas aquis vite*). The orator finished his comparison jokingly by claiming that Lodovico has heavily watered his soul in all of his life with the the water of life (*aqua vitae*), in other words, with »l'eau de vie.«¹⁸ In yet another sermon, the theological disputations for the doctoral degree are compared to the Panathenaic games and the future theologians paralleled to wrestlers.¹⁹ Well-known examples of paradoxical praise from ancient literature, such as the praise of Thersites, or of the fly, of baldness, of injustice – probably copied from the prologue of the *Praise of Folly* by Erasmus of Rotterdam (1509) – have been quoted in celebration of Jérôme de Hangest, the future anti-Lutherian polemist.²⁰

16 Ms. E71, 35r.

17 Ms. E71, 2v.

18 Ms. E71, 7v.

19 »Sunt, mihi credite, Panathenea celebres isti Theologiarum disputationum congressus, in quibus hii, quos palam conspicitis, viuacissimi athlete mutuis vrgencium rationum iaculis sese punctim sensimque congressi sunt, quos Pancratiastes, latine vero quinquertiones non abs re appellauerim.« Ms. E71, 10r.

20 »<L>ibanius Thersitem, Busirim Policrates, Olauo [Glaucio] item Platonius iniusticiam, Lucianus muscam, Sinesius [Synesius] calviciu[m], Phauerinus quartanam febrem suis oracionibus insignauerant, et ita quidem insignauerant, ut et laudandi munus omne prostituerint, et laudatoris, non laudati virtus [sic!] celebrarent.« Cf. ERASMUS ROTERODAMUS *Moriae Encomium*, 68: »Cum Busiridem laudarit Polycrates

This curious collection of sermons in the manuscript ends with three letters, addressed to the Pope, the King of Hungary, and the University of Prague by the Sorbonne. In these letters, the University of Paris tries to persuade all parties to start a reconciliation process, without going into any detail how exactly this reconciliation should be carried out. The first letter, addressed to an unnamed Pope, follows the most simple rhetoric scheme of the three. It is based on the parable of the good shepherd, identified with the Pope, which is expanded into a lively image: the Bohemians were led astray by some rapacious wolves, who disguised themselves as sheep, but it is the permanent duty of the good shepherd, the Pope, to bring them back to the Catholic Christian flock, as soon as they realize their own mistake.

The second letter, addressed to the king of Hungary, has a more elaborate structure based on the idea of apostolic kingship. The first sentence (*Altילוqua ecclesie tuba Paulus apostolus magno clangore omnium auribus insonat...*) recalls the duty of every believer to spread the faith, whereas the king has exceptional duties, as he has higher authority and greater power than other believers. Not only should it be his personal zeal to eradicate all kinds of schism that would harm the unity of the church, but also should he consider it as his duty to heal any separations and enmity. The most important witness to this Christian model king is introduced by Saint Augustine: »...this is the service of kings to God. If the bad things are forbidden in the kingdom, it is not only in the interest of human society, but also of divine religion. And what pertains more to the divine religion than purity of faith, piety in God, and obedience to the Church?«²¹ This quotation is taken from a work of Augustine against the Donatist Cresconius grammaticus:²²

»As it is mandated by divine law, kings, in their very royal office, serve God, whenever they command good things and prevent bad things, concerning not only human society but also divine religion.«

et huius castigator Isocrates, iniusticiam Glaucio, Thersitem et quartanam febrim Fauorinus, caluicium Synesius, muscam et parasiticum Lucianus.« For the Erasmian inspiration, see also the beginning of the sermon on Robert Ceneau (7r): »Saphon lybicus ut in fabulis est dum divinitatis honorem falso sibi aucupavit, aves humane vocis dociles trasennis inclusit...,« a retelling of the adage *Psaphonis aves* from the *Adages* (1, 2, 100).

21 »... in hoc serviunt reges deo: si in regno suo mala prohibeantur, non solum pertinet ad societatem humanam, et ea que ad religionem diuinam. Sed quid ad religionem diuinam magis attinet, quam fidei puritas, pietas in deum, et obedientia in Ecclesiam, qua fedata nullus amplius diuine religionis locus relinquitur.« Ms. E71, 83v.

22 »Reges cum in errore sunt, pro ipso errore leges contra veritatem ferunt; cum in veritate sunt, similiter contra errorem pro ipsa veritate decernunt: ita et legibus malis probantur boni et legibus bonis emendantur mali. Rex Nabuchodonosor perversus legem saevam dedit, ut simulacrum adoraretur, idem correctus severam, ne Deus verus blasphemaretur. In hoc enim reges, sicut eis divinitus praecipitur, Deo serviunt in quantum reges sunt, si in suo regno bona iubeant, mala prohibeant, non solum quae pertinent ad humanam societatem, verum etiam quae ad divinam religionem.« AUGUSTINUS *Contra Cresconium* 3, 51, 55.

In this anti-Donatist work Augustine argues against the rebaptism practiced by Donatists. For this purpose he draws a distinction between the notion of schism and heresy: if Donatism is a schism, there should not be any doctrinal differences, thus there should not be any reason either to rebaptise the believers or continue the schism. If on the other hand Donatism is a heresy, the differences are doctrinal, which means that the Donatists have to correct their wrong believings. In any case, if the Donatists strive to reenter the only true church they would be spared immediately from persecution and receive the blessing of the Holy Spirit. The true church receives the schismatics with open arms, and there is no need to rebaptize them. The moral quality of the minister of the sacrament is not essential for the validity of the sacrament itself, since whether sinful or pious, he is only an instrument through which Christ's forgiveness of the sins reaches the people. The quotation cited in the letter to Vladislav II occurs in the third and final book, where Augustine justifies the use of law and violence against the Donatists if they are recalcitrant to return to the Catholic faith. Just as in the case of the graduation sermons, the author paraphrases a cleverly selected sentence of Augustine and applies it to a situation similar to its original context. The Hussites should be treated like the Donatists: If they are willing to reject their errors, they may be readily readmitted to the Christian flock. Otherwise they should be forced to do so.

Thus, it is the king's duty to find a remedy for the problem of the Czech lands, and he should follow the example of Constantine, who summoned the Synod of Nicaea against the Arian heresy, and that of Emperor Sigismund, who convoked the Council of Constance. Obviously, the author shows little sympathy for the Hussite views and has probably only scant knowledge of them, although he refers to certain chronicles, »from which the past troubles are well known« (*preterita mala ex relatione historiarum noscuntur*). The examples of the early Church, the Synod of Nicaea and Saint Augustine's authority serve only to justify royal interference in church matters and even to put pressure on the king to act immediately. All these examples demonstrate the conscious effort of the author of the letters to revive the antiheretic discourse of the early, but post-Constantine church.

The third letter, addressed to the University of Prague, begins similarly by invoking the example of St. Paul, who relied in his apostolic office on letters sent to places which he could not visit personally. Contrary to the first two letters, where the Faculty of Theology was writing to parties that supported its own, catholic views, here it brings to bear its own authority against the university of Prague, which it does by calling itself the parent of all universities and claiming a direct descentance from the Pauline teaching (*alma Parisiorum universitas, antiqua studiorum parens, sacrorum beati Pauli eloquiorum alumna*).²³

23 The wording of the sentence directly hints at the Bull *Parens scientiarum*, issued in 1231 by Gregory IX, which called the university of Paris »mother of sciences.« Cf. CUP I, 136–139 (no. 79). The second half of the phrase about St. Paul's eloquence (»Beati Pauli eloquiorum alumna...«) refers probably to the legend of Dionysius the Areopagite. Bulaeus quotes the late 15th c. Latin epic on Dionysius the Areopagite

Stressing the genealogical descent of the University of Prague from the Sorbonne, the faculty fashions herself as a self-sacrificing mother and recalls the famous example of Solomonic wisdom from the Book of the Kings (1Kings 3,16–28), where two mothers quarrelled over a child and the king, who was asked for a solution, decided the child to be cut in half. Thus, reading between the lines, the lenience and charity of the University of Paris, which found an expression in this tolerant letter to the heretic sister (or rather daughter) in Prague, is a clever way of asserting its superiority. Just as in the case of the graduation speeches, where the pagan stories are ambiguously connected to the newly graduates of the Sorbonne (like in the example of the *aqua vitae*, »l'eau-de-vie«), we find the same rhetoric strategy of *double-entendre* applied here. As the real mother ceded the child to the false one in the story of Solomon, Paris, as the true mother, yields to Prague, the false mother, in order to prove her own veracity.

Similarly, an implicit meaning can be discovered in the fact, that the letters to the king of Hungary and Prague begin with a quotation from St. Paul. According to the underlying rhetoric of the letters, the Sorbonne tries to follow the apostolic example of St. Paul by sending out these messages, while paralleling its own stance in the anti-Hussite controversy to the position taken by St. Augustine in the Arian debate. The letters do not go into any detail over dogmatic or theological issues, and this might be a reason why they quote only Sacred Scripture and Church Fathers. On the other hand, the writer may have been aware of the theological preferences among the Hussite audiences in Prague: besides Scripture and Church Fathers (as representatives of the *ecclesia primitiva*). Hence, he deliberately neglected to cite scholastic authorities in order to create a common ground for the debate, and avoided any references that would have been unacceptable to Hussites.

How could we date these texts? It is well known that there was a number of attempts for church union with the Hussites from the middle of the 15th century to the early 16th century, all of which failed.²⁴ Can our texts be connected to any of these attempts? First, and foremost, the problem of the making of this single manuscript surely has to be distinguished from the composition of these letters, since – judging from the number of scribal errors – both the humanistic sermons and the letters are not originals, but copies. Nevertheless, the combination of these two sets of texts, quite distant in their genre, within a manuscript from Prague is intriguing.

As for the provenance of the manuscript, we have only a few hints that allow to suggest a French context. Two epigrams appear on the inner cover leaf of the front cover. The first, in the tiny hand writing of the scribe of the entire manuscript, praises the French king in this way:

(*Dionysias*) by Baptista Mantuanus, in which St. Paul predicts the legendary foundation of the Paris university by Charlemagne to Dionysius. BULAEUS I, 116–118.

24 For our purpose, the most significant of these efforts is the one organised by Ladislav Szalkai, around 1524–26. See KALOVS 2010, 179–197.

AD REGEM GALLIARUM

Inter Christicolae rex regum maximus hic est

*Sceptro, iure, fide, sanguine, Marte prior.*²⁵

»Among the Christians, this king is the greatest king,

He is first in authority, law, faith, blood and war.«

A second epigram written by a later and larger hand writing (mid 16th century or later), however, offers a completely different assessment, one that speaks about the king of France in quite negative terms:

DE REGE GALLIARUM

Inter Christicolae non est rex nequior ullus

Si modo Christicola est, quem iuvat arma se[qui].

»There is no king among the Christian who would be more despicable,

If he can be called a Christian, who likes to follow the arms.«

Originally, a third epigram, even later than the second one, was written on this page, which also commended the Christian past of the kingdom of France. Since the leaflet has been torn some time ago, only the first line of this epigram has survived: *Gallia Christianum fuit olim...*

The king in question can be identified almost surely with the belligerent Francis I, and the doubt expressed in the second line – he can hardly be called a Christian, if he hastens to wage war – corresponds to the Erasmian idea of peace exposed in the *Institutio Principis Christiani* (1515) and the *Querela Pacis* (1517), where Erasmus explains that warfare is not a Christian idea, neither for popes, nor for kings.²⁶

Regardless which epigram was written first in the manuscript, whether the critical or the supportive, their joint appearance witnesses nevertheless to a silent debate concerning the merits of the French king. We can say for sure, that the scribe of the manuscript was French because an inscription in Greek letters on fol. 58r reads »largesse.« Thus we can safely attribute the assembling of the manuscript to a French scribe, who wrote it after 1520, the date of the last humanistic sermon. From there, it went to the library of the 17th c. Czech prelate Caspar Arsenius (*Ex libris Caspari Arsenij à Radbusa, Decani Pragensis*).²⁷

Concerning the composition of the letters of the Paris University, we have some further clues. As we have seen earlier, the University of Paris presented itself in the letter to Prague as the common mother of all the European universities, and in a subtle and metaphoric language, but at the same time unequivocally, she asks her daughter (or at least her sister), who has been torn

25 This epigram is known from a manuscript collection (Vat. Reg. lat. 1409) of epitaphs on Charles VII. See CALMETTE 1905, 222. François Secret quotes these lines from an early 16th c. collection of prophecies: SECRET 1968, 197.

26 See ERASMUS ROTERODAMUS *Institutio Principis Christiani* and ERASMUS ROTERODAMUS *Querela Pacis*.

27 The ms. contains a note of another, probably 16th century owner on fol. 88v: »Dominus Jacobus est possessor huius libri.«

away from the church for a long time, that she may come back to the Roman church. Judging from the context of these texts in the manuscript and their style, which corresponds to the elaborate, classicizing, but not Ciceronian style of the sermons, we may surmise that they have been written in the same decade. Indeed, we find important data concerning the composition of these letters in the literature about the contemporary history of the Sorbonne. James K. Farge has called attention to a few interesting remarks in the register of the Faculty of theology in Paris, according to which the faculty has received a letter from Hungary in the August of 1515, but its contents are not specified there.²⁸ The acts of the university got a remark on August 19, 1518, i.e. three years later, saying that a certain master, Matthew of Loreyo has presented a request in front of the assembly of the faculty, while acting as a representative of the king of Hungary: »As the troubles have grown worse, the university found itself obliged to turn her attention to other problems: that is to say to the defence of the religion, the Christian faith and to defend her own privileges. These three topics were presented to the general assembly of the university in the cloister of Saint-Mathurin on August 19 [1518]. The rector explained that the faculty asked him to send letters to the Pope, to the Emperor and to the King of Hungary concerning the return of people who went astray in their faith, and that the people of Bohemia desire to return to the church and to the Holy See. The Master Matthew of Loreyo, doctor of theology, assured us of this situation, and he exposed these reasons: First the lack of priests,²⁹ and those who were left, had been ordained surreptitiously, or they were heretics. Second, they were tired of not being admitted to princely courts, or only rarely. Third, they had been hassled by the Waldensians several times.³⁰ Consequently, it was decided to prepare these letters to seal them by the great seal of the university.«³¹

28 FARGE 1985, 122; CLERVAL *Procès-verbaux*, 181.

29 The lack of ordained priests in Hussite Bohemia is mentioned in other sources, as well. See SVATOŠ 1995, 213–217.

30 The latter two points give an accurate description of the conflict of interest between the nobility and richer burghers on the one side, and the Czech Brethren on the other. See DAVID 2001 and HEYMANN 1968.

31 »Succrescentibus sub<d>inde malis Universitas ad alia negotia animos mentesque conuertere coacta est nempe ad defensionem Religionis et fidei Christianae, et suas ipsius immunitates tuendas ... quae tria Capita fuerunt proposita in Comitijis 19. Aug. apud Math. habitis. Exposuit enim Rector 1. se rogatum a Facultate Theologiae curare ut ad summum Pontificem, ad Imperatorem, ad Regem Hungariae mittantur litterae super reductione delirantium a fide et quia Bohemi cupiebant ad Ecclesiae et Sedis Apostolicae sinum redire; ita enim rem se habere M. Mathaeus de Laureo Doctor Theologus asserebat, qui causas reductionis istas protulit. Vna erat, quia pauci erant ibi Sacerdotes, nec nisi furtive promoti aut apostatae. 2. Quia molestum erat eis quod Seculares ad Curias Principum raro admitterentur. 3. Quia a Waldensibus plurimas molestias accipiebant. Ergo litteras confici placuit et magno sigillo sigillari.« BULAEUS VI, 106.

Unfortunately, no trace of these documents has been preserved in the archives of the Sorbonne.³² Nevertheless, the three letters mentioned in the acts of the Sorbonne seem to be identical with the ones found in the Prague manuscript, with one important difference however: Instead of sending a letter to the emperor, the third letter was addressed to the University of Prague. Still, the university complied with the request of Matthew of Loreyo.³³

What might have been the reasons for Matthew's mission? We know very little about Mathieu de Loreyo.³⁴ A doctor of theology in Paris, he was best known as the teacher of the two sons of Johannes Amerbach, the famous humanist and printer from Basel, in Paris in 1502–04. Later on, he moved from the Collège de Lisieux to the Collège de Navarre to study theology, and it was probably there that he befriended John Gosztonyi, bishop of Győr and royal chancellor of Hungary, when the latter spent a few month in Paris in 1514, probably staying at the Collège de Navarre. Most probably the bishop invited him to Hungary, and he certainly accepted the invitation, since he acted as an intermediary between Gosztonyi and his former master in Paris Josse Clichtove, a well-known humanist theologian.³⁵ Gosztonyi prepared a list of 102 questions, which range from very basic grammatical matters to astrology and to problems regarding the correspondance between Christianity and Neoplatonism.³⁶ The detailed reply of Clichtove, which survived in a manuscript in Budapest (*Dissolutiones nonnullarum quaestionum*, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár cod. lat. 348), gives a hint in one of the answers that the questions were sent to him from Hungary by Matthew de Loreyo.³⁷ It happened probably during this visit to bishop John Gosztonyi that Matthew met the Bohemian heretics and that he was encouraged by the bishop of Győr to take efforts against the old schism in East Central Europe. Unfortunately, we do not know whether the letters ever reached their destinations. If they did indeed, the most probable candidate for the role of the messenger was Matthew of Loreyo, who received his doctorate in theology in 1516, himself.³⁸ So he must have known all the new graduates in theology, for whom the sermons of the manuscript were written, personally.³⁹ Although we do not know of any consequences or reactions, the presence of this manuscript in the Metropolitan Library in Prague as early as

32 FARGE 1985, 122.

33 It is possible that the letter to the emperor was not sent due to the death of Maximilian I on Jan 12, 1519.

34 All the existing sources have been conveniently summarized by GÁBRIEL 1987.

35 GÁBRIEL 1987, 43.

36 GÁBRIEL 1936 and ECKHARDT 1943.

37 »Hoc quoque loco notantur in exemplarj harum questionum michj tradito per honorandum magistrum nostrum et doctorem theologum Mattheum de Loreyo, et aliena quidem manu mendose scriptum.« Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, cod. lat. 348, 6r. See GÁBRIEL 1936. I am preparing an edition of the *Dissolutiones nonnullarum quaestionum*.

38 FARGE 1980, 288f.

39 As Father Farge pointed out to me in an email, they were a rather small group who had studied together for fifteen or sixteen years.

the 17th century, and the fact that an anti-French epigram was copied into it suggest that both the letters and the sermons reached their planned audience in the second decade of the 16th century at least. Obviously, the effort of the university without any significant political backing could not yield the desired effect. Nevertheless, if not the contents of the letters, the fresh, exemplary style of the sermons, together with their Erasmian inspirations might have been better received.⁴⁰

40 Although Hussite preaching was primarily in Czech, it is exactly in these years that the influence of Erasmus started to be felt in Bohemia, and his works were translated into the vernacular. See PRAŽÁK 1964.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS TO THE APPENDICES

The content of the manuscript Prague, Metropolitan Chapter 832 (E71) has been listed already by PATERA/PODLAHA in their catalogue from 1910.⁴¹ The description by PATERA/PODLAHA, however, has overlooked some details. Furthermore, it has not identified the addressees of the sermons so that I have decided to provide a new, complete description of the manuscript's contents along with additional information on the texts (Appendix 1). In Appendices 2 and 3, I give a transcription of the letters by the University of Paris to the King of Hungary and the University of Prague respectively. In these transcriptions, I have standardized the orthography (with the exception of ae/e and ci/ti) and the punctuation for the sake of comprehensibility, also because of numerous grammatical mistakes that occur in both letters. The variants found in the original text of the manuscript are documented in the apparatus. Any additions I made in the edited text are marked by square brackets [...].

APPENDIX 1:

Contents of the ms. 832 (E71) of the Library of the Metropolitan Chapter, Prague

1. (fol. 1r): Sequuntur quedam oraciones paranimphice⁴² in urbe Parhisi-ana publice declamate. Quarum prima est de laudibus theologie. – (1r–2v): *Inc.* »[E]pictetus, haud vulgaris philosophus inter concisas et succincta brevitate commendabiles precepciunculas, quas diathecas appellant...« *Expl.* »...quia speculatores facti estis Magnitudinis illius.«

2. (2v–3r): Pro fratre Theodorico Boqueti.⁴³ – *Inc.* »Primus ille philosophorum Achilles Plato tria amoris genera...« *Expl.* »...preclarum licencie munus quod tibi voluit presentibus litteris iudicari.«

3. (3r–4r): Ad fratrem Jacobum Roselli⁴⁴ ordinis Cluniacensis. – *Inc.* »Accessat queso tantillum a vobis aurium severitas...« *Expl.* »...dabit coronam pro cinere, oleum gaudij pro luctu, pallium laudis pro spiritu meroris.«

4. (4r–5r): Ad magistrum Sangerinum. – *Inc.* »Ea utinam queso spectati sapientia patres, utinam ea mihi esset eloquij ubertas...« *Expl.* »...Basilleo ac Regali diademate perinde insigniendum.«

41 Cf. PATERA/PODLAHA 1910, 492–494.

42 The term paranimphus (originally the bridegroom's messenger) referred to the representative of the chancellor of the University of Paris. See FARGE 1985, 25.

43 Thierry Du Bouquet, lic. Jan 26, 1514, doctor March 13, 1515. FARGE 1980, 143.

44 Jacques Rousseau (Rosselly, Rousseli, Roussely), lic. Jan 26, 1514, doctor Oct 13, 1514. FARGE 1980, 396.

5. (5r–6r): Pro fratre Claudio de Nyceo.⁴⁵ – *Inc.* »Alexander ille vir magna gloria magnificus rebus gestis...« *Expl.* »...Vicisti mundum in patientia et hec vera victoria. Dixi.«

6. (6r–7r): Pro fratre Jeronimo de Hangest.⁴⁶ – *Inc.* »[L]ibanius Thersitem, Busirim Policrates, Olauro item Platonius iniusticiam...« *Expl.* »...veluti Jacob sua benedictione beabit.«

7. (7r–7v): Roberto Senali.⁴⁷ – *Inc.* »[P]saphon lybicus ut in fabulis est, dum divinitatis honorem falso sibi auccupavit...« *Expl.* »...et elevatum est cor tuum in robore tuo.«

8. (7v–8v): Pro Lodouico Coronel.⁴⁸ – *Inc.* »Zoroastes ut scribunt Chaldei interpretes aliam esse animam asseruit...« *Expl.* »...et dyadema Regni in manu domini dei tui. Dixi.«

9. (8v–9r): Pro Stephano Girod.⁴⁹ – *Inc.* »Romulum [*ms.* Homulum] Theseo splendidiorem clariorque dignum nomine eo multi testantur...« *Expl.* »...et muniet illa per gyrum munimentis fortitudinis sue. Dixi.«

10. (9r–9v): Pro fratre Geraldo Lesperit. – *Inc.* »Et mendico male meretur qui ei dat quod edat, aut quod bibat, nam et illud quod dat, perdit, et ei producit vitam ad miseriam exercendam...« *Expl.* »...ab illo elemosinam suscepturus. Dixi.«

11. (9v–11v): In laudem sacre theologie. – *Inc.* »Maiores illi oculatissimi, quorum moribus atque institutis hominum vita quasi Regula formatur...« *Expl.* »...necnon quadriffide Parisiensis Minerve honorarius arbiter perinde reprehendet. Dixi.«

12. (11v–12r): Pro magistro Joanne de Quercu.⁵⁰ – *Inc.* »Fertilissima fructuque longe utilissima inter silvestres arbores quercus...« *Expl.* »...sis columpna et firmamentum invincibilis veritatis.«

13. (12r–12v): Pro fratre G. Fauconier.⁵¹ – *Inc.* »Audite queso o clarissimi patres...« *Expl.* »...ut mortuus seculo gloria immortalitatis semper vivas. Dixi.«

14. (12v–13v): Pro magistro Jacobo Courtellirio.⁵² – *Inc.* »Urbes aut naturali beneficio aut humana industria aut utroque munitas esse oportet...« *Expl.* »...Ad quod quidem munus crastina luce hiis te litteris invitae.«

15. (13v–14v): Pro magistro Gabriele Robillard.⁵³ – *Inc.* »Qui numeros omnes innocentie impleverit, nemo tamen mortalium inventus est...« *Expl.* »...animi in medium sese recessus quem temperatum et non ex crapula.«

45 Claude de Nicey, lic. Jan 26, 1514, doctor April 13, 1515. FARGE 1980, 346f.

46 Jérôme de Hangest, lic. Jan 26, 1514, doctor March 22, 1514. FARGE 1980, 217–221.

47 Robert Ceneau, lic. Jan 26, 1514, doctor April 5, 1514. FARGE 1980, 79–84.

48 Luis Nunez Coronel, lic. Jan 26, 1514, doctor May 29, 1514. FARGE 1980, 114–116.

49 Étienne Girault, lic. Jan 26, 1514, doctor Jan 15, 1515. FARGE 1980, 196f.

50 Jean Duchesne, lic. Jan 26, 1514, doctor June 19, 1514. FARGE 1980, 144f.

51 Guillaume le Fauconnier, lic. Jan 26, 1514, doctor Sept 25, 1514. FARGE 1980, 255.

52 Jacques Courteville, lic. Jan 26, 1514, doctor May 15, 1514. FARGE 1980, 118.

53 Gabriel Robillard, lic. Jan 26, 1514, doctor May 2, 1514. FARGE 1980, 393f.

16. (15v–20v): Sermo sinodalis. – *Inc.* »Verba vobiscum facturus, spectabiles heroes, de rebus maximis et clarissimis, sacerdotali scilicet dignitate et officio...« *Expl.* »...et regnat in secula seculorum Amen. Dixi. Ps. 81. Immola deo sacrificium laudis et redde altissimo vota tua. [Ps] 49.« – *A Sapphic chant in the middle of the sermon* (16r): *Inc.* »Ad divam Mariam. Balbus, elinguis titubans...« *Expl.* »...Ego dixi dii estis et filii excelsi omnes.«⁵⁴

17. (21r–24v): Sermo synodalis. – *Inc.* »Vos estis regale sacerdotium, gens sancta populus acquisitionis (1Petr 2:9) ... Marcum Tullium Romane lingue splendidulum iubar...« *Expl.* »...quod nos annuat regius ille sacerdos qui in forma triplici veneratur. Dixi.«

18. (25r–27r): De sancta Katherina collatio. – *Inc.* »Sapiencia laudabit animam suam. Ecclesiastici XXIII capite (Ecclus 24:1) ... Tradunt vetustissimorum annalium erodatores...« *Expl.* »...Christus Jhesus qui est sapiencia patris Amen.«

19. (27r–28r): De charitate collatio. – *Inc.* »Si linguis hominum loquar (1Cor 13:1) ... Non inter virtutes solum quas theologas theologi professores appellari consueverunt...« *Expl.* »...qui charitas est amor et desiderium patris Amen.«

20. (28v–30r): De beato Thoma apostolo collatio. – *Inc.* »Probatus est et perfectus inventus est (Sir 31:10) ... Dorix apud Asiaticos Armenie incolas flumen celebratissimum habetur...« *Expl.* »...ubi nectario deliciarum fluctu satiatus accipit ambrosiae dona beata dapis.«

21. (30r–33r): [Sermo] sinodalis. – *Inc.* »Introduxit me rex deus (Ct 1:3) ... Ex spectatissimis priscorum monumentis semel atque iterum et audiui et legi...« *Expl.* »...et que perenniter duratura nunquam excedat. Dixi. Finis.«

22. (33r–35r): *Sermon in the presence of the king.* – *Inc.* »In conspectu maiestatis tue, Rex Serenissime modo me proditurum...« *Expl.* »...firmior indissolubilio-rque maneat et perduret. Dixi.«

23. (35r–35v): In assumptione virginis gloriose. – *Inc.* »Archilocum, patres egregii, imitarer lubens, animosiusque hastam abicerem...« *Expl.* »...genibus flexis una voce dicentes Ave [Maria] gracia plena.«

24. (35v–36r): *Sermon.* – *Inc.* »Erit in nouissimis diebus preparatus mons domini in vertice moncium et eleuabit super colles et fluent ad eam omnes gentes (Is 2:2). Huius presentis concionis due etiam breuissime erunt partes...« *Expl.* »...cui laus et honor in secula seculorum, Amen.«

25. (36v–38r): *Sermon.* – *Inc.* »Letentur celi et exultet terra (Ps 95:11).⁵⁵ Angelorum regi gloria...« *Expl.* »...muneribus regem natum adorare festinent. Dixi.«

26. (38v–44v): Sermo de assumptione Beate Virginis. – *Inc.* »Posuisti super caput eius coronam de lapide precioso. Ps 20 (4). Hercules vir laboriosissimus

54 Cf. Ps 81:6 and Ps 49:14.

55 Midnight mass at Christmas.

et inter memorabiles prodigiorum expugnatores decantatissimus...« *Expl.* »...Sume lubens mea verba preces pia pectora dixi. Iterum dixi.« – *Verses*: (40r): *Inc.* »Ad virginem Mariam Saphicum carmen. Virgo ave Christi genetrix pudica...« *Expl.* »...Te precor nostris genetrix adesto // Prospice ceptis.« – (42r): *Inc.* »Carmen heroicum. Postquam assumpta est Virgo in caelum tempora suadent...« *Expl.* »...Victrices palmas victricia signa ferentes.« – (44r–v): *Inc.* »Carmen heroicum de Virginis assumptione preciosa. Assumpta est Maria in caelum vexilla triumphi...« *Expl.* »...Sume lubens mea verba preces pia pectora dixi.«

27. (45r–48r): Oratio habita de sancto Johanne Baptista in regali collegio Nauarre anno domini millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo.⁵⁶ – *Inc.* »Multorum natiuitates viri et patres omnigena eruditione fulgentes...« *Expl.* »...post presentem huius vite miseriam nobis concedere dignetur. Amen Iesus.«

28. (48v–49v): Oratio habita in die sancti Ioannis apud Cordigeros. – *Inc.* »Utinam viri et patres pigmentis oracionis bene colorati hodie michi Pisitrati eloquentia exhiberetur...« *Expl.* »...et introducat ad locum quem preparavi sicut eam lucem lucerna procedit. Deo gracias. τελως.«

29. (50r–54r): Oratio cinodalis [!] habita in basilica Nostre Domine Parisiensis anno domini millesimo quingentesimo decimo feria quarta post festum sancti Luce pro domino archidiacono de Brie.⁵⁷ – *Inc.* »Sacerdotii antiquitatem ab ipso mundi exordio deductam...« *Expl.* »...peruenire nobis concedat. Dixi.«

30. (54v–55v): *Sermon.* – *Inc.* »Christus, qui Christus infinita sydus pietatis...« *Expl.* »...post varias huius orbis procellas variosque cruciatus quibus mens humana affligetur, celesti gloria frui permittat Amen.«

31. (55v): Carmina elegiaca ad auditores. – *Inc.* »Colligo vela patres...« *Expl.* »...sit michi fama. Dixi. Dixi. τελως.«

32. (56r–59r): Oratio sinodalis habita in anno domini millesimo quingentesimo decimo quinto feria 4a post festum sancti Luce in edibus domini archidiaconi de Bria per Philippum Maugarnii.⁵⁸ – *Inc.* »Verba in presentiarum habiturus...« *Expl.* »...opifex ille rerum et mundi nascentis origo. τελως. Finis. Dixi.« – (56v): *Verses*: *Inc.* »Virgo decus patris summi sanctissima virgo // Que vacuas nostras non sinis esse preces...« *Expl.* »...me cape tota tibi, mens, mea mater ave.«

33. (59v–62v): Oratio habita in collegio regali Nauarre de venerabili eucharistie sacramento. – *Inc.* »Solent naufragantes (si nulla eis insit religio)...« *Expl.* »...donet nobis magnificus ille rex ut post fluxiles vite cursus una avibus [?] epulemur. Finis. Amen. Dixi.«

56 Collège de Navarre, June 24, 1520.

57 Notre-Dame, Oct 19, 1510 for the Archdeacon of Brie.

58 House of the Archdeacon of Brie, Oct 20, 1515 by Philippe Maugarny (lic. Jan 14, 1526, doctor Nov 19, 1526). FARGE 1980, 315f.

34. (63r–64v): Oratio habita in collegio regali Nauarre anno domini millesimo quingentesimo decimo quarto in vigilia ascensionis domini.⁵⁹ – *Inc.* »Periclem fuisse Atheniensium moderatorem, viri, patres oculatissimi...« *Expl.* »...vera Christi effigies sydereos caelos cum ellectis suis ascendit si super peccatorum (...).« – (65r–66v: *empty*)

35. (67r–68r): Ad laureandum magistros in artibus. – *Inc.* »Archisophus noster Aristoteles in primo Politicorum libro...« *Expl.* »...Solebant nostri maiores illos qui preclarum aliquid gesserunt decenti corona dotare, quare et multiphariis utebantur coronis.«

36. (68v–72r): Codex determinanciarum. – *Inc.* »Pythagoram humane veluti sapientie terrestre quoddam oraculum...« *Expl.* »...in sempiternis possis epulis accumbere. Amen.«

37. (72v–75v): *Sermon on the priesthood.* – *Inc.* »Vos genus electum, regale sacerdotium gens sancta populus adquisicionis Prim. Petri 2° (1Petr 2:9f.). Naturalem genuinamque humane mentis in vitium facilitatem...« *Expl.* »...cupidinis et Bacchi potius quam Christi assecras. Amen. Finis.« – (76r–v: *empty*)

38. (77r–80v): [Sermo] sinodalis de pastoralis dignitate. – *Inc.* »Bonus pastor animam suam ponit pro ovibus suis (Jo 10:11)... Socratem illum fontem omniumque philosophorum prestantissimum iubar...« *Expl.* »...quod vobis paratum est ab initio mundi. Amen.«

39. (81r–v): *Ps. Augustinus: De dignitate sacerdotum et eucharistiae.*⁶⁰ – *Inc.* »Augustinus de dignitate sacerdotum veraciter sic dicit: O veneranda sacerdotum dignitas...« *Expl.* »...sanguine Christi polluantur sanguine peccati.«

40. (82r–v): *Panegyric sermon on the faculty of law and its rectors.* – *Inc.* »Si Romani parens eloquii Cicero inter ceteras mortallium (!) procellas...« *Expl.* »...respondeat in celestibus felicitas.«

41. (83r–v): Littere Universitatis Parisiensis ad Summum Pontificem.⁶¹ – *Inc.* »Pastor ille bonus cuius meminit evangelium Beatissime Pater...« *Expl.* »...atque a domino semper incolumis conservetur. Ex Parisiis.«

42. (83v–84v): Littere Universitatis Parisiensis ad Serenissimum Regem Ungarie. – *See the edition below in Appendix 2.*

43. (84v–85r): Littere Universitatis Parisiensis ad Universitatem Pragensem. – *See the edition below in Appendix 3.* – (85v–88v: *empty*).

Note on 88v: »Dominus Jacobus est possessor huius libri.«

⁵⁹ Collège de Navarre, May 25, 1514.

⁶⁰ This text was attributed to Augustine in some early editions of the spurious work *De dignitate sacerdotum* (cf. Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, 2947f.).

⁶¹ All three letters must have been written after August 19, 1518, when Mathieu de Loreyo exposed his request in front of the General Assembly of the Faculty of Theology. See above.

APPENDIX 2:

Letter of the University of Paris to the King of Hungary

Littere Universitatis Parisiensis ad Serenissimum Regem Ungarie
(Prague, Metropolitan Library, ms. 832 (E71), fols. 83v–84v)

Altioua Ecclesie tuba, Paulus apostolus, magno clangore omnium auribus
insonat: Rex serenissime »operemur bonum ad omnes, maxime autem ad
domesticos fidei« et rursum alio in loco: »si quis suorum et maxime domes-
ticorum nostrorum non habet fidem, est infideli deterior«. Quo et si omnes
aliorum defectioni prepositi solcite curare debent, ut suorum gerant curam
et bonum ad eos operentur, tum maxime reges et in regalis solii fastigio
constituti. Nempe augustiorem ceteris habent auctoritatem adeo sibi indultam
et amplioem, inde potestatem ac facultatem, qua valeant eam exequi, que ad
subditorum salutem spectare videntur. At vero nullum est prestantius officium
aut commendatio, quod in suos rex prestare possit, quam quod sinceritatem
rectam fidei, et puram in deum religionem procuret; schismata, dissectiones,
dissensionem ab unitate Ecclesie de medio regni sui tollat. Testis huiusce rei
locupletissimus est sacer Augustinus divus: »in hoc serviunt reges deo: si in
regno suo mala prohibeantur, non solum pertinet ad societatem humanam,
et ea que ad religionem diuinam. Sed quid ad religionem diuinam magis
attinet, quam fidei puritas, pietas in deum, et obedientia in Ecclesiam, qua
fedata nullus amplius divine religionis locus relinquitur«. Summo igitur
studio illa imprimis ab rege in suo regno sunt veneranda. Porro Serenissimam
Maiestatem non latet regnum Bohemie tue dicioni subiectum iam diutius
obruptum esse, atque divulgum a corpore Ecclesie per schisma tam inveteratum,
quo hactenus aberratio suum collum ecclesie submittere et sancta illius
sequi instituta et ritus recusavit. Quanta autem mala hanc obruptionem atque
scissuram consecuta sunt, que bella deinde exorta, quot autem perditae,
que prima dogmata in illo dominici soli agro seminata, et que aculeate
noxieque species inde succreverunt, que totum bonum semen prius seminatum
suffocarunt, non opus incultis referre verbis, nam et preterita mala ex relatione
historiarum noscuntur, et presentia ad oculum coram spectantur, et graviora
formidantur futura. Inde optimum cito remedium adhibeatur. Ut autem illis
tempestive occurratur, regie Serenitati devotissima et deditissima Universitas

2 operemur] ms: operamur 2–3 Gal 6:10 3–4 1 Tim 5:8 5 defectioni] ms:
detectioni 6 solii] ms: soli 11 schismata] ms: scismata 13–17 AUGUSTINUS *Contra*
Cresconium 3, 51, 55. 20 schisma] ms: scisma 21 hactenus] ms: actenus 24 agro] ms:
aggro

- 30 Parisiensis zelo dominici honoris instimulata omnem parata est subire laborem et sollicitudinem, cumque accepisset ipsam regiam Tuam Celsitudinem a paterna avitaque religione nequaquam degenerante magno affici desiderio ad medendum huic gravi morbo, admovendumque letifero vulneri medicamentum, mirum in modum gavisa est, et letata in Deo salutari suo, qui dedit
- 35 Ecclesiam in cor regis clarificare donum Dei, que est in Ierusalem. Utque ad hoc opus tam fructuosum et salubre regalis Tua Sublimitas sit alacrior et promptior, presentibus litteris tota Parisiorum Academia eam testatur, rogat, et orat, ut omnes virium suarum [nervos] intendat illi negotio absolvendo, omnem repellat moram dilationem et protillationem (!) arduis rebus gerendis
- 40 semper noxiam, et huic uni rei consumende intentissime insudet. Enimvero sic ipsa Deo gratissimum prestabit obsequium, fructum et honorem Ecclesie catholice, Christi sponse, hoc laudabili studio amplificans. Multorum insuper excellentissima Tua Dignitas in hoc opere faciendo consulat saluti, qui si pristinis infixi persistant erroribus, corrueant in interitum. Preterea regnum sibi
- 45 tranquillius et pacatius comparebit atque integrius, quoniam tota Bohemia propensius tuis se submitte habent, promptius que tuis legibus obtemperabit, cum fuerit re ingrata, et rursum unita Ecclesie postremo perpetuam tuo nomini pariet gloriam, huius tam salubris negotii confectio cum tuis auspiciis fuerit consummata. Si quidem Constantinus ille magnus preclaris
- 50 celebratur preconiiis quod sinodum Nicenam studiose convocaverit ad extirpandum heresim Arianam, si Sigismundus Romanorum Imperator inclitus insigni effortur laude, quod Constantiam interfuerit consilio, et enixe laboraverit ad diuturnum illum schisma, quod graviter adeo totam obturbabat ecclesiam, evertendum, non his minus certe tua erit inservire gloriam, Rex Serenissime,
- 55 qui tua diligenti opera sustuleris hanc Bohemie dissepationem, resarcinaverisque antiquam rupturam, que causa nobile quondam membrum detrahit a suo corpore, et demum transacto huius vite curriculo Deus tibi post terreni et temporalis regni coronam celestem et perpetuam elargietur. Valeat feliciter Illustrissima Tua Maiestas et a Domino ad meliores semper dirigatur. Ex
- 60 Parisiis.

31 sollicitudinem] *ms:* sollicitudinem 37 Academia] *ms:* Achademia 42 catholice] *ms:* catolice 43 excellentissima] *ms:* excelentissima 45 tranquillius] *ms:* tranquilius, *tran del.* 46 habent] *ms:* abent 49 Constantinus] *ms:* Constantius 51 Arianam] *ms:* Arrianam 52 interfuerit] *ms:* si interfuerit 53 schisma] *ms:* scisma 54 his minus certe] *ms:* his certe 55 sustuleris] *ms:* sustulleris 58 feliciter] *ms:* felicititer

APPENDIX 3:

Letter of the University of Paris to the University of Prague

Littere Universitatis Parisiensis ad Universitatem Pragensem
(Prague, Metropolitan Library, ms. 832 (E71), fols. 84v–85r)

Beatum Paulum sapientem Ecclesie architectum atque magistrum impulit 1
instantia quotidiana et sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum ut cunctos lucrificeret
Christo, qua assidue agitatus non modo ipsos verum fidei et doctrine populis
impartivit, sed et absens epistolarum officio ecclesias ad recte credendum et
iuste vivendum irrequietus incitat. Eodem certe fervore et zelo incallescere 5
debent quicunque super fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum spiritua-
li fabrica sunt edificati, et salutarem Pauli doctrinam profitentur, elaborareque
pro viribus, ut aliorum consulant saluti. Alioquin non veri sunt illius
imitatores neque sacris eius insistent vestigiis. Quo circa non preter officium
facere censebitur alma Parisiorum universitas, antiqua studiorum parens 10
sacrorum beati Pauli eloquiorum alumna, si exhortatoria epistula enitatur
etiam exteros et magna locorum intercapedine ad se distantes ad ea, que
salutis sunt et edificationis, provocare eos, potissimum cum quibus arcta
necessitudine iam olim est devincta et antiqua familiaritate complacentissima.
Atqui nullis ferme publicis studiis inveniatur illa arctius coniuncta, aut propin- 15
quius astricta, quam tibi, inclita Pragensis universitas, quam semper habuit ut
filiam, eoque loco utpote ex eius fonte atque deductam eodemque doctrinalis
institutionis schemate et forma effigiatum. Quorum si quis filiam te diffidebi-
tur Academie Parisiensi, arte sororem infitiri non poterit, et etiam emulam 20
litteris mater compellat filiam, aut saltem germanam sororem petitque
primum impensius, ut benignas accomodet suis monitis aures. Legimus
siquidem in sacris libris Regum historiam, cum ad dirimendam contentionem
duarum matrum super filiiis suis iussisset rex Salamon infantem vivum dividi,
quod commota sunt viscera mulieris illius, que vera erat infantis mater super 25

1 atque] *ms:* adque impulit] *ms:* impullit 2 quotidiana] *ms:* quotidiana sollicitudo]
ms: sollicitudo lucrificeret] *ms:* lucrificare 5 incallescere] *ms:* inualescere 15 at qui]
ms: atque *del.*, at qui 18 schemate] *ms:* schemmate 18–19 diffidebitur] *ms:* difidebitur
19 Academie] *ms:* Achademie 21 germanam] *ms:* germana 22 accomodet] *ms:*
accommodet legimus] *ms:* luges, *del.*, legimus

- filio suo. Neque enim equabiliter sustinere potuerunt illius dissecationem quem vere protulerat in lucem. Haud aliter ipsius [universitas] Parisiensis commovetur iam pridem viscera miseratione et dolore super divulsione iam diuturna filie sue schole Pragensi, que avulsa ab uberibus ecclesie longum reiectionis sustinet obprobrium. Neque ipsa sola tanti mali perpetitur incommoda, sed tota Bohemie regio tantae sentit contagia pestis, resectaque ab ecclesie consortio gemit et praemortua iacet. Ceterum si verum fateri liceat, videris, o Pragensis Academia, ea in parte reprehensionis obnoxia, quod tam diuturnum sinas esse illud disseparationis malum, negligentiorque fueris et lentior equo ad remedium oportunum suo tempore exhibendum. Quid, oro, profuit aut quid non graviter nocuit tanta cunctatio et dilatio tam salutaris negotii? Tuumne fuerit officium doctrine lumen aliis ministrare, errantes ad viam veritatis reducere, et devios ad rectum callem, quinimo oscitantes ociosos et pigritantes compellere intrare sinum ecclesie? Nullo – quod utique gaudens – teneris amplius errore eorum, que prius disseminata fuisse referuntur, expulsi prorsus pestifera illa dogmata (...) ⁶²

26 suo] ms: sup *del.*, suo; cf. 1 Kings 3:16–28. sustinere] ms: sustinueret 27 protulerat] ms: protullerat 28 viscera miseratione] ms: miseratione (*del.*) viscera miseratione 29 schole] ms: scole 33 Academia] ms: Achademia 35 oportunum] ms: opportunum 37 ministrare] ms: administrare, ad *del.* 38 oscitantes] ms: osscitantes

62 The text breaks off here.

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Wer nur bei Vollmond zum Friseur geht, um das Haarwachstum zu fördern oder an einem Freitag den Dreizehnten das Haus nicht verlässt, um kein Unglück auf sich zu ziehen, mag zwar als abergläubisch gelten, doch weitere Konsequenzen wird sein als Marotte abgetanes Verhalten für ihn kaum haben. Bis weit in die Moderne hinein wurde jedoch der Glaube an die Wirkung naturgesetzlich unerklärter Kräfte keineswegs als Privatsache behandelt, wofür noch die Hexenverfolgungen der Frühen Neuzeit einen traurigen Beleg bieten. Schon im Judentum wurden magische Praktiken als Widerspruch gegen einen mit dem Monopol der Allmacht versehenen Gott bekämpft, und selbst der polytheistischen vorchristlichen Antike erwachsen mit Autoren wie Varro oder Cicero Kritiker der Superstition, während das römische Strafrecht das Delikt des Schadenzaubers kannte.

Mit dem Christentum wurde der Glaube an übernatürliche, nicht auf Gottes Allmacht zurückführbare Kräfte eifersüchtig bekämpft. Die christlichen Kaiser unter sagten alle derartigen Praktiken und die Kirchenväter überlieferten wirkmächtig ihre Superstitionenkritik dem lateinischen Mittelalter. Als der Kirchenrechtslehrer Gratian in der ersten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts daran ging, sein epochales Lehrbuch *Concordia discordantium canonum* zu verfassen, sollte er ebenso wenig Zweifel an der Macht böser Dämonen haben wie der Theologe Petrus Lombardus, der wenig später seine noch von Luther benutzte Sentenzensammlung abschloss. Beide

griffen bei der Beschreibung von Wahrsagerei und Zauberei auf die Kategorien der Antike zurück, wie sie ihnen von Varro und Augustinus, teilweise durch Isidor von Sevilla vermittelt, hinterlassen worden waren. Schon die »Magierliste« Gratians mit einer Vielzahl nur dem Experten erschließbarer magischer Praktiken war der antiken Literatur entnommen.

Die in einem Zeitraum von nahezu zwei Jahrzehnten entstandene Züricher historische Dissertation von Patrick Hersperger wirft somit eine nahe liegende Frage auf, wenn sie unter anderem den »Sitz im Leben« des Superstitionentraktats in Causa 26 des *Decretum Gratiani* zu ergründen sucht. Obwohl jedoch der Autor selbst gleich mehrfach den Zeugniswert der kirchenrechtlichen Literatur für magische Praktiken ganz zu Recht in Frage stellt (S. 171.175.377) – so entnimmt Gratian etwa seine Definition des *Sortilegiums* den Etymologien Isidors von Sevilla, und Normen sind stets eine problematische Quelle zur Ermittlung der Praxis –, stellt er keine Verbindung zwischen der ausführlich vorgestellten Forschung zu magischen Praktiken im Mittelalter (S. 155–159) und der Kanonistik her. Stattdessen finden sich grundsätzlich ohne Verweise auf weitere Forschungen angestellte Mutmaßungen, die ihrerseits an Kaffeedomantie statt an wissenschaftliche Analyse erinnern: »Wenn Gratian nicht bekannt gewesen wäre, dass sich Kleriker seiner Zeit mit solchen Superstitionen beschäftigen, hätte er die Causa wohl nicht so konzipiert« (S. 454). »Vermutlich liegt hier ein Hinweis auf eine konkrete Praktik des religiösen Alltags der Christen im Mittelalter vor« (S. 383). »Diese Formulierung lässt den Schluss zu, dass solche Observationen in England zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts beachtet wurden« (S. 374). Vor dem Hintergrund der Hersperger offenbar unbekannten, von Alexander III. (1159–1181) dekretierten